DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 257 422 IR 011 608

AUTHOR Roe, Keith
TITLE Youth and Music in Sweden. Results from a Longitudinal Study of Teenagers' Media Use. Media Panel Report No. 32.
INSTITUTION Lund Univ. (Sweden). Dept. of Sociology.
PUB DATE Aug 84
NOTE 29p.; Paper presented at the IAMCR Conference (Prague, Czechoslovakia, August 27-31, 1984). For related documents, see IR 011 605-607.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; *Adolescents; Children; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Mass Media Effects; Media Research; *Music; *Popular Culture; *Student Attitudes; Use Studies
IDENTIFIERS *Media Research Panel Project (Sweden); *Sweden

ABSTRACT

This empirical review of the relationship between Swedish youth and music begins with a brief overview of the place of music as a communications medium in Swedish society in general, and among Swedish youth in particular. An analysis of the findings of a large-scale, longitudinal study of media use by Swedish adolescents, the Media Panel study, is then presented. (This study has been conducted at the Department of Sociology, the University of Lund, Sweden, since 1975.) Although this project was primarily concerned with the media habits of and the effects of television use on children and adolescents, data were also gathered on the music interests and preferences of 309 children in Vaxjo, Sweden, in 1976, 1978, and 1980, with supplementary data being added in 1981. Conclusions based on these findings indicate that (1) music preferences are dependent upon earlier levels of school achievement, although the adolescent peer group plays a mediating role in terms of music preferences and motivations; and (2) low achievement tends to lead to greater peer orientation, negative attitudes toward school, and a preference for oppositional forms of music. Fifty-seven references are listed. (LMM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

HÖGSKOLAN I VÄXJÖ
Informationsteknik

LUNDS UNIVERSITET
Sociologiska institutionen

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

ED257422

Youth and Music in Sweden.

Results from a Longitudinal Study of Teenagers' Media Use.

media panel

Keith Roe

Report No 32
August 1984

IR011608

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Keith Roe

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

YOUTH AND MUSIC IN SWEDEN.

Results from a Longitudinal Study of Teenagers' Media Use.

This paper was first presented to the panel on "International Communication: Popular Music" at the IAMCR Conference in Prague, Czechoslovakia 27-31 August 1984.

Dr Keith Roe
Dept of Sociology
University of Lund
Box 114
S-221 00 LUND Sweden

INTRODUCTION

Music forms an important part of the Swedish communications environment, a fact which, after decades of neglect, is finally being heeded by social science research. The traditional imbalance in favour of television has, in recent years, been increasingly challanged, at least as far as the activities of teenagers are concerned. This challange, by no means confined to Sweden, has provided considerable support for the postulate that in the years surrounding adolescence music assumes the dominant position among the communications media, in terms both of the amount of time devoted to listening and of the meanings attached to it.

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to this growing research tradition by empirically reviewing the relationship between Swedish youth and music. In order to achieve this a brief overview of the place which music as a communications medium holds in Swedish society in general, and among Swedish youth in particular, will be presented. This will be followed by an analysis of some specific results from a large scale longitudinal study of Swedish adolescents' media use.

I

In at least two respects Sweden can claim a special position in the study of social relationships surrounding the uses of music. Firstly, Sweden is a country dedicated to the collection of social and cultural statistics. This means that viewed internationally data on the musical activities of Swedes are unusually broad and detailed. Few, if any, countries have anything comparable (Karlsson 1982). This deep vein of data, statistical and otherwise, provides considerable opportunities for analysis. Secondly, Swedes have an extremely high per capita expenditure on phonogram products. In 1976 Sweden had by far the highest per capita record sales in the world and every household owned an average of 35 records or tapes (Karlsson 1982, Malm 1982).

In most segments of the population of Sweden listening to music is an important leisure activity. Almost one-half describe themselves as being very interested in some form of music. Popular music is the

most preferred with about 50 % choosing their favourite artists in this broad area, while over 80 % of teenagers do so. Interest in commercial "pop" has grown strongly, the number of adherents having doubled between 1965 and 1976 (Karlsson 1982). The average Swede is exposed to around three hours of music a day, two from phonograms and the rest in the form of title or background music on the radio, TV or other media (Fonogramutredningen 1978). In 1976 the average Swede spent around $ 60 a year on the products of the music industry providing the Swedish music business with an annual turnover equivalent to 50 % of the nations expenditure on international aid and development (ibid, Tagg 1981a).

Economically the recording industry witnessed the greatest rate of expansion of all Swedish mass media during the 1970's - an increase of 106 % in the period 1970-76. This may be compared with that for the daily press (38 %) and for TV and radio (23 %) (Malm 1982). By far the greater part of this market (80 %) is controlled by the "big five" transnationals (CBS, Polygram, WEA, EMI and RCA). Sales of records increased from 4 million per year in 1965 to 9 million in 1970 and 20 million in 1982. Similarly sales of cassettes increased substantially, for blank cassettes from 8.5 million a year in 1975 to 20 million by 1982, and for prerecorded cassettes from 2.8 million to 4.5 million in the same period. The result of these developments was that the average number of hours spent listening to phonograms increased five-fold during the 1970's (Wallis and Malm 1984). Since then the market has stagnated somewhat and the growth curve has levelled off and even shown some tendency to fall .

For the population as a whole radio remains the most important form of contact for music. For teenagers, however, the phonogram provides the most common form of delivery. Music on the radio is overwhelmingly prerecorded - as much as 90 % on the light music channel. In 1976 the average time spent listening to recorded music on the radio was 80 minutes per person per day. If we add the corresponding figure for listening to records and cassettes then an average daily figure of around 113 minutes listening to records is obtained (Malm 1982). Since 1976 the time devoted to listening to phonograms has increased and there has been a further reduction in the amount of time spent listening to the radio (Kjellmor 1981). This respresents a continuation of the trend noted by Malm (ibid), on the basis of the 1976 data, that there is a continuing shift in the habits of Swedes from radio listening to listening to one's own phonograms.

While national statistics are useful for setting the broad contours of the place of music in Swedish society it should be remembered that contact with music in all its forms and mediations is, socially, extremely unequal. While the older segments of the population buy few records and pay relatively scant attention to musical products, other segments especially those under 24 years of age are very deeply involved. Nylöf (1975) reports that 95 % of Swedish 12 to 24 year olds are interested in music, a level of interest outstripping any other activity. For them music provides a ubiquitous background to a whole range of activities. One recent survey (Axelsen 1984) reports that 96 % of adolescent pupils often relax with some form of "rock" or "pop" music when they get home from school. 50 % eat their evening meal with music playing, while 60 % have it on as background while doing homework.

By far the most significant variable explaining differential contact with music is level of education (Nylöf 1970). In all employment categories the level of musical activity increases with level of formal education. Irrespective of income, the more highly educated are more active than the less educated. This should, however, be put in the context of the fact that the more highly educated are in general more active in all "cultural" spheres (reading more, going more often to concerts, playing musical instruments, listening more to gramaphone records and attending the theatre, art galleries and museums more often) (Karlsson 1982). Most of these differences have their origins early in life correlating not only with the level of parental education and income but also with housing and neighbourhood factors (which in themselves, of course, are also at least partially related to income) as well as with the nature and experience of the working situation (Nylöf 1977). A fundamental dichotomy exists between the kinds of leisure activities pursued by children in high and low income housing areas. In this respect it has been argued that on the basis of their musical activities Swedes can be grouped into different musical subcultures each with their own value system and often even with their own financing, production and distribution channels (Karlsson 1982). These divisions are to some extent reinforced by the structure of state and local government economic support, by far the greater part of which is channeled into established theatres, orchestras etc. These receive twenty-five times as much money as do non-established groups involved with other genres. To a

very large degree, therefore, non-establishment genres such as "pop", rock and jazz are left to commercial financing (ibid).

One further aspect of the place of music in Swedish society which obviously should not be forgotten is the activity of making music itself. Approximately 40 % of the population of Sweden play or have at some time played a musical instrument and about half of them are currently still active. In particular young people are very active in making music. In 1972 it was estimated that one-third of all basic school pupils took part in voluntary music lessons. The rapid expansion of local government financed music schools in the 1970's also resulted in a significant increase in the numbers of young people actively making music. In addition to instrumental activity singing, in choirs and other groups, is popular. Approximately 6 % of the population regularly, i.e. at least once a month, take part giving a total of 400.000 choresters (ibid). One very recent development which has met with some success is the integration of large teenage choirs with rock musicians to produce a new hybrid form of musical activity.

While the numbers actively making some form of music have increased in recent decades especially amongst the younger segments of the population,the proportion of people attending concerts and other live music events has remained constant. 75 % of Swedes never attend any form of concert or live musical event. Partly this is a result of geographical factors affecting the availability of such entertainment and partly it is a result of the general factors cited above which affect the inequality of contact with music. Once again, attendance at live musical events is heavily defined by level of education with the more highly educated attending such events disproportionately often.

In summary we may say that,with the exception of attendance at concerts and other live music events,the penetration of music in all its forms has increased significantly in Swedish society in recent decades. Since the 1960's few other forms of communication have witnessed the same growth curves both economically and in terms of time devoted to them. For the young in particular music provides an omnipresent backdrop to social life. Moreover this development is not limited to Sweden or even to the industrialized world. In many respects music can claim to be the international medium par excellence, "the most global aspect of our 'global village'" (Media Development 1982). As Wallis and Malm

(1984) have noted in their comparative study of the music industry the technology of that industry has found its way, in a very short time, into the farthest corners of the earth, irrespective of social or economic systems. Successful music industry products have a world wide penetration surpassing almost anything which television has hitherto achieved. To give but one example, the Swedish group ABBA produced one record ("Fernando") which has been estimated to have sold 10 million copies and to have been heard by 100 million people (Tagg 1981b). Music is not necessarily limited to the boundaries of language for much of its appeal lies in its ability to stimulate physical and affective responses. Indeed, according to Bradley (1981) "music speaks a universal language of the emotions".

In many societies, and especially in the technologically most advanced, music is becoming increasingly difficult to avoid. It surrounds us, is intrusive. From supermarket, shop, hamburger bar, sports event, or even the passing car it intrudes on our senses and, as Tagg (1981a) has pointed out, while eyes can be shut (or turned away) "ears can never be closed, hearing never switches off". Music has become one of the most frequently encountered constituents of the "soundscape" of modern society. Furthermore, because of this all-pervasiveness, music additionally invades, inhabits and influences interpersonal relationships (Lull 1984). It follows that analyses of the role of music in social life must take account of the group dimension. Any analysis which concentrates solely on individual aspects is doomed to be at best a partial explanation.

II

It is now proposed to turn to the results of a project which has examined, longitudinally, the media uses and gratifications of a panel of Swedish children aged between 11 and 15. The project is entitled "The Media Panel" and has been conducted at the Department of Sociology, The University of Lund, since 1975. The main purpose of the project was described in Rosengren and Windahl (1978) as the investigation of the "media habits, causes and effects of TV use among children and adolescents". As the project developed, however, it became increasingly evident to the research team that by the age of puberty music had become a major area of interest among the vast majority of adolescents. Consequently, although the major focus remained on TV, data on the

respondents' music interests and preferences were collected. The main panel consisted of 509 children living in the town of Växjö which is situated in the south of Sweden and has a population of 62,000. Växjö was considered to be representative in its social structure of Swedish society in general. Data over a wider range of variables were collected from the children in 1976, 1978 and 1980, with supplementary data being added in 1981. In addition data were collected from their parents in 1976 and 1980. The contemporaneous school marks of the children in all subjects were subsequently obtained from the school authorities. Major studies dealing with various aspects of these data have been published in English (Hedinsson 1981, Johnsson-Smaragdi 1983, Roe 1983).

The respondents' degree of interest in "pop" music was measured when they were 11 years of age (1976). At this time only 4.6 % replied that they were not at all interested in "pop" whilst 70 % replied that they were "interested" or "very interested". It is obvious from this that interest begins early. There were only slight differences according to sex with 5.8 % of boys and 3.3 % of girls being uninterested in "pop" and 71 % of boys and 69 % of girls interested or very interested. Interestingly social background did not correlate with interest in pop at this age. Pearson correlations were computed both for parents' occupational level and parents' level of education. In both cases relationships were very weak and non-significant. Apparently interest in "pop" in the early years develops independently of gender and background factors. Obviously we are here treating "pop" as an undifferentiated entity partly because the finer distinctions of genre are poorly developed at this age. When we come to discuss the respondents at 15 years of age we shall deal with more differentiated musical types.

A general interest in "pop" appears, therefore, to be almost a universal at the age of 11. A more or less vaguely expressed interest, however, says nothing about the actual level of listening. Consequently, frequency of listening was also measured. At the age of 11 only 2.8 % reported never listening to "pop" whilst 58 % listened every day or on most days of the week. Two years later, at the age of 13 the same respondents reported an increased level of activity to the extent that by then only 1.5 % never listened, and 66 % were listening with daily or almost daily regularity. In terms of actual listening some small differences according to gender were in evidence. At eleven 4.3 % of

boys never listened as compared to 1.2 % of girls whilst 60 % of boys listened frequently compared to 56 % of girls. Two years later, however, we see the girls beginning to overtake the boys in the proportion listening frequently. By then less than one percent of the girls were never listening (compared to 2 % of boys) while the percentage of girls listening frequently had increased to 69 % (as opposed to 63 % of boys). At both ages correlations with parents' occupation and level of education were once again very weak and non-significant.

One interesting aspect of development at these ages is the relative popularity of TV viewing and listening to pop. To obtain an indicator of this the respondents were asked which they preferred doing most. From previous research it was known that at the age of 11-12 the amount of time devoted to TV viewing reaches a life-time high and thereafter begins to fall substantially to reach a life-time low around the ages of 15-16 (Flodin et al 1982). It was therefore anticipated that the proportions expressing a preference for one or the other of these activities would also change substantially during this period. This anticipation was confirmed. At the age of 11 only 16 % replied that they would rather listen to "pop". Four years later the same question was posed to the same respondents and 41 % now replied that they preferred listening to "pop" to watching TV. These figures, however, mask a significant difference according to gender. At the age of 11 only 11 % of the boys preferred listening to pop compared to 22 % of girls and, although by the age of 15 this difference had narrowed somewhat, the girls were still more likely to prefer listening to pop than the boys (43 % as opposed to 39 %). Once again home background factors were only very weakly and non-significantly related to this variable.

As Roe (1983) has shown one should be cautious in interpreting overall relationships between measures of media use and social background factors. In the first place there is evidence of curvilinearity in the relationship between adolescents' TV use and social background (Johnsson-Smaragdi 1983, Roe 1983) and secondly social background effects may operate differently for boys and girls. By means of a longitudinal model employing a LISREL causal analysis (Jöreskog 1977, 1981, Jöreskog and Sörbom 1981) Roe (1983) demonstrated that home background is a far more powerful explanatory variable for girls than for boys in relation to a range of media use, peer orientation and school related variables. Moreover the importance of a child's parent-peer orientation for explaining

music interest and preferences was also demonstrated. Even here the causal mechanism were seen to operate differently according to gender. While a peer orientation amongst boys tended to a higher degree of music involvement and a preference for "harder" forms (e g punk and hard rock) irrespective of home background the relationship between peer orientation and music for girls was dependent upon home background factors. In short while adolescent boys move towards a greater peer orientation more or less independently of their background, the rate at which girls become peer oriented is strongly influenced by social class. Not only were working class girls seen to be more peer oriented at all three ages (11, 13 and 15) but the influence of social background increased successively over time.

These findings reinforce the argument that involvement with popular music, in all its forms, is essentially a group phenomenon and operates at the level of group interaction (see Lull 1984). The parent-peer orientation scale employed was a Swedish adaptation of the scale of Bowerman and Kinch (1959). While almost all children move towards a greater orientation to peers as they approach and pass through puberty, they do so with earlier or later starting points and progress at different speeds. Therefore a respondent's position on the continuum from parents to peers may usefully be related to other variables.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) and a structural equation analysis utilizing LISREL both confirmed that at the ages of 11 and 13 parent-peer orientation was the only variable to show significant relationships with interest in and frequency of listening to "pop". At both ages there was a linear relationship between greater peer orientation and amount of listening (Roe 1983, p 139, pp 167-168). Moreover a causal relationship over time was identified between these variables. The greater the interest in, and frequency of, listening to "pop" at the age of 11 the more peer oriented the individual was likely to be two years later (remembering that this was a panel analysis dealing with the same individuals over time). Similarly a cross sectional analysis existed between peer orientation at age 13 and frequency of listening to "pop" at that age. This once again, in its turn, led to a greater orientation to peers two years later (by this time at the age of 15). Thus we are able to identify a causal structure over time in the direction of peer orientation leading to greater pop interest and listening which in turn leads to greater peer orientation and so on continuing through the years of

adolescence. The specific implications of this longitudinal relationship have been addressed in greater detail by Rosengren et al (1983) and have been further amplified by Roe (1983).

The analysis also showed that degree of peer orientation was important for explaining the kinds of music preferred by the respondents at the age of 15. By this time the differentiated music preferences of the respondents had been measured. The results showed that there was a positive relationship between greater peer orientation and preference for "harder", less socially accepted, forms such as punk and rock. Conversely, there was a negative relationship between greater peer orientation and preference for "mainstream pop". While preference for classical and other more "acceptable"forms was not significantly related to parent-peer orientation (Roe 1983, pp 143-147, p 169). There are other explanations for preference for socially more acceptable music which we shall deal with in due course.

Preferences were measured for ten different kinds of music. These ranged from "rock", "punk", "new wave" and "Reggae", through "mainstream pop" to more established forms such as "classical", "folk" and "Jazz". The list was not intended to be exhaustive but to cover the major types with which the respondents could be expected to possess at least some familiarity from radio and phonogram exposure. It should also be noted that the data were collected in the autumn of 1980. It is acknowledged that the field of popular music is one which in recent years has experienced rapid and enormous differentiation and that today 10 musical categories would not suffice to cover the field. Indeed startling evidence of this fact was provided in March 1984 when the author once more went out to collect data on the music preferences of Swedish 15 year olds. By then it had become necessary to list 18 different categories on which this age group could reasonably be expected to express an opinion.

It might have been anticipated that "mainstream pop" preference, as a sort of middle -of-the-road category, would form the largest preference group with most other types margirally preferred by small extreme groups. However, the frequency distributions revealed this not to be the case. 19 % stated that they did not like mainstream pop. The least disliked types were in fact reggae (7 %) and rock (8 %). Neither was mainstream pop anywhere near the most liked; 25 % replied that they liked it a lot while 54 % gave this reply for reggae, 44 % for rock and

34 % for new wave. While 56 % replied that they liked some mainstream pop, 57 % liked "some" country and 55 % liked "some" new wave, while, surprisingly perhaps, 46 % sometimes liked classical music. It is clear from these results that preference for, and dislike of, mainstream pop is as specific as that for other types of music. Overall the results indicated that reggae, rock and new wave were liked most (in that order) and folk, 60's style protest songs and jazz liked least. In between, in descending order of preference, came mainstream pop, country, classical and punk.

Once again, however, these results conceal variations according to homebackground and gender. Significant ($p = .01$ or greater) correlations with gender were in evidence for five of the ten music categories. There was a tendency for boys to express a preference for rock ($r = .14$) and for jazz ($r = .12$) and for girls to prefer mainstream pop ($r = .19$), classical music ($r = .16$) and folk ($r = .18$).

Significant and moderately strong positive relationships were found between parents' occupational status and level of formal education and classical music ($r = .26$ and $.27$ respectively), and jazz ($.18$ and $.21$ respectively). There was also a weak positive relationship between preference for folk and level of parents' education ($r = .15$).

That the children of middle class highly educated parents indicate a greater liking for jazz and classical music should surprise no-one. What is more surprising is the fact that no significant relationships with home background factors were found with any of the "rock" or "popular" forms. This is not to imply that a taste for these is "classless". Evidence from other countries has stressed the social class heterogeneity of the popular music audience (Denisov 1975, Murdock and McCron 1976a, 1976b, Frith 1978, 1983, Willis 1978, Hirsch 1981).

Part of the explanation for the lack of a direct relationship between background factors and most of the music preference lies, as we have seen, in the mediating role of the peer group and specifically in the individual's degree of orientation to peer values. However, as Ross (1983) has shown there are other intervening variables which need to be introduced into the relationship. In particular differential school achievement and commitment to school were shown to be major explanatory variables in relation to music interest and preferences over time, to the extent of strongly modifying or even excluding home background effects. We shall deal with this important aspect of youth's relationship to music in due course.

The expressed music preferences were subsequently analyzed by means of an exploratory factor analysis. The details of this analysis have been presented by Roe (1983, p 216). As a result three main factors were identified. The first was composed of a liking for punk, new wave and rock. The second for mainstream pop, and the third of a liking for classical, jazz and folk music. The remaining three categories did not appear to form a strong relationship with any of the three factors identified (country, reggae and 60's protest songs). Reggae tended towards the punk-rock-new-wave factor but the factor loading was too low to justify inclusion. The factor matrix indicated a strong negative relationship between liking for classical music and liking for punk and new wave, not in itself surprising. More surprising perhaps was the fact that the most distinct single preference was that for mainstream pop which was negatively related to the other two factors. It would appear that if you like mainstream pop you tend not to like anything else, whereas adherents of other forms tend to be more tolerant of, or at least indifferent to, competing genres.

This evidence tends to support the postulation that distinct musical taste cultures exist among Swedish youth. Obviously the three factors identified also reflect different levels of social acceptability according to mainstream and "high" cultural criteria, with a socially disapproved of factor (punk, rock and new wave), a mainstream factor ("pop") and a "high" cultural factor (classical, jazz and traditional folk). Interesting to note here is the fact that jazz, the music listened to by the bohemian intelligentsia of the 1950's, is now associated by the young with the middle class respectability of classical and folk music. As Roe (1983) has pointed out this gives support to the assertion that middle class "drop outs" and "bohemians" eventually return to their middle class status albeit in new forms in each generation. It can be argued with some justification that the same process is well under way with the music of the 1960's, and that we may thereby infer that the "underground" of today will eventually, in its turn, achieve a similar cultural status in the eyes of future generations of adolescents. It should be stressed that we are here discussing musical publics, and the way in which they change (i.e. age and move up the social status ladder), not musicians or the music itself.

A further result of interest was the fact that a greater interest in and frequency of listening to "pop" in the early years was associated

with subsequent preferences. The LISREL structural equation analysis showed that amongst the boys more frequent listening at the age of 13 was associated with a greater expressed preference for punk and rock music two years later. For girls it was found that greater interest and listening to "pop" at the age of 11 was negatively related to a liking for classical music at the age of 15. Clearly then, the earlier one becomes involved with pop the greater the likelihood that one will, in later years, develop a taste for more socially disapproved of music forms and a dislike of classical music. Furthermore the analysis showed that with all other variables in the model controlled (including social background and school achievement) there was a relationship for the girls between greater interest and listening to "pop" at the age of 11 and the status of the job which those same girls anticipated getting after school, as reported at the age of 15. Clearly for girls an early involvement with "pop" exerts an independent influence on their own perceived future job status. This result introduced an element of anticipatory socialization into the analysis, the implications of which will shortly be discussed more fully.

An important question to answer is that of why and how young people use music. The motivations for listening to music were therefore measured by a scale of 12 items. The respondents were asked to express how often each particular motivation was appropriate for them. Top of the list of "often" being a motivation for listening was as background to some other activity, such as doing homework (36 %) followed by "it's good to dance to" (34 %). The least often motivation reported was, "The lyrics express how I'm feeling", only 7 % citing this as a frequent reason for listening. Conversely this alternative came top of the list for never being a motivation for listening.

The twelve items of the scale were subsequently analyzed by means of an exploratory factor analysis. Three common factors were extracted. By far the most important factor embraced those items dealing with motivations concerned with atmosphere creation and mood control. This factor was able to account for exactly two-thirds of the variance (66.6 %). The second factor was based on motivations for silence-filling and passing the time. This factor was able to account for 23.5 % of the variance. Finally, a third factor based on attention to lyrics was identified. However, this accounted for only 9.9 % of the variance.

These results confirm that, for youth, music is more physical and

emotional than it is cerebral in the sense of attending to any verbal content that it may possess. Music is indeed, as Frith (1978) has pointed out, "in the beat".

The motivations for listening were then analyzed to identify possible gender differences. Six of the twelve items showed significant (.01 or greater) correlations with gender. By far the strongest relationship was found with the item, "It's good to dance to" ($r = .47$) with girls overwhelmingly choosing this alternative. Girls were also slightly more motivated to use music to lessen feelings of loneliness ($r = .15$) and to listen to lyrics ($r = .13$). They also tended to be slightly more positive to the statement "music fits in well in my life". There was no significant relationship between gender and the use of music for passing the time.

Motivations for listening also varied to some extent according to home background. There was a weak tendency for working class respondents more often to report using music for passing the time and silence-filling. The relationships between home background and other motivational factor items (atmosphere creation/mood control and listening to lyrics) were very weak or non-significant.

We have seen that a vital mediating variable in the individual's relation to music is the degree of orientation to peers. Peer orientation also proved to be a significant variable in relation to the motivations for listening. Not surprisingly it was the motivational items which made up the atmosphere creation/mood control factor which evidenced significant positive correlations with greater peer orientation. The strongest was that between peer orientation and the motivation, "music creates a good atmosphere when I'm with others" ($r = .23$). Listening to music for the sake of the lyrics also correlated positively with greater peer orientation indicating perhaps that knowledge of lyrics may be useful as coin of exchange in peer group discourse.

It was hypothesized that a greater early interest in "pop" at the ages of 11 and 13 would correlate positively with the statement, "music fits in well in my life", since it was assumed that a longer involvement would result in a more intimate relation. This hypothesis was supported. There was a moderate correlation ($r = .20$) between greater interest in "pop" at the age of 11 and degree of agreement with this statement at the age of 15. In addition early interest also correlated moderately highly with the atmosphere creation/mood control factor items.

Weak positive relationships were also in evidence between earlier interest and the items making up the interest in lyrics factor. These results indicate that a greater early interest in music tends to result in more positive utilizations, i.e. creating atmosphere, mood control or attention to lyrics. There were no significant relationships with the items making up the more neutral or negative motivational factor of silence-filling and passing the time.

Uses and gratifications research hypothesizes that communications media fulfil a number of functions for the individual or group using them. Individuals or groups are seen as experiencing various needs, wants and requirements and are motivated to satisfy them by means of media use (see also Rosengren et al 1983). Motivations for use are therefore seen as, to a large degree, rational and active. It follows that the extent to which teenagers are motivated to listen to a particular type of music is an indicator of the degree to which that music is fulfilling their needs and wants. Correlations were therefore computed between the motivations for listening to music and preferences for the various music types.

Significant correlations with at least some motivations were present for all but two of the music types. These were country and jazz. The implication is that liking for these types of music tends to be "passive", that is, those who like it do so when they encounter it but presumably they do not seek it out in order to fulfil any specific need or want. Three types of music each correlated significantly with nine of the twelve motivational items namely, punk, rock and new wave. This was not just a side effect of widespread popularity with respect to these types. As we have already seen, while rock and new wave were indeed widely popular, punk was very much a minority taste. For its adherents, however, it appears to fulfil just as many requirements as the more generally popular punk and new wave types.

For punk the strongest correlations were, interestingly, with the items concerned with listening to lyrics (a correlation of .28 with the item "I want to listen to the lyrics", and one of .27 with "The lyrics express how I'm feeling"). Only the category of "protest songs" was able to compare with the strength of these relationships with regard to attention to lyrics. The weakest motivational correlations with punk were with "It's good to dance to" and two items of the "silence-filling" factor.

For rock and new wave the strongest correlations were with items

concerned with atmosphere creation and mood control. In particular both correlated with the item, "It creates a good atmosphere when I'm with others" (r = .23 and .19 respectively). Both were also used to reduce boredom when doing other things such as homework (r = .20 and .19 respectively). "It helps me to get into the right mood" also correlated with both these types (with rock .18; with new wave .15). Correlations between these types of music and attention to lyrics existed but were rather weaker than for punk, the highest being .15. Reggae music also appeared to fit into this pattern of use. The strongest correlation with reggae, however, was achieved by the motive, "it's good to dance to".

Mainstream pop, or "soft pop" as it is sometimes called in Swedisn, correlated with surprisingly few motivations. The only positive correlation, not surprisingly, was with "It's good to dance to" (.19). In addition this type was negatively related to the item "The lyrics express how I'm feeling" indicating that even those who express a liking for "soft pop" find little that is meaningful in the lyrics.

Correlations between liking for classical music and motivations were in general very weak. Interestingly, however, the strongest of them were negative correlations with the "passing-of-time" items (in both cases -.17) indicating that those who like calssical music do not listen to it for this reason. On the positive side there was a slight tendency to use classical music for relaxation.

The relationship between the various music types analyzed and the degree of agreement with the statement, "music fits in well in my life" is also of interest since it gives an indication of the extent to which teenagers integrate music into their lives. Not unexpectedly, in light of the foregoing results, the highest correlations with this statement were evidenced by rock (.21), new wave (.17) and punk (.16). The only other significant correlations were those with protest songs and classical music.

We may infer from these results that rock, new wave and punk are the types of music which best fulfil the needs and wants of their adherents and which play the most significant part in their lives. This should not be surprising when we consider that it was precisely these forms of music which were the most clearly defined and identifiable in group and subcultural terms in 1980. They were the music types which were used by groups with the best defined subcultural "style" (Hebdige 1979, Brake 1980, Clarke et al 1980, Cohen 1980). Such subcultures possess their own distinct

norms and values in matters of clothing, hair styles, attitudes and modes of behavior. They demand allegiance and identification as the price of entry. For such groups music becomes a main avenue of expression for group values and identity and there may even develop a homological relationship between them (Willis 1978, 1980). At this level music assumes a role of central importance in the social dynamics of adolescent life.

III

We shall now turn to a discussion of the role of school based factors in the relationship between youth and music. The importance of aspects of schooling for adolescents' uses of the media has recently been discussed in detail in a full length study by the author (Roe 1983). The empirical tradition linking media uses and gratifications with the experience of schooling, however, is a long one. Coleman (1960, 1961, 1966) was among the first to link achievement related subcultures to the media. Adolescents who failed to "achieve" in either school or adolescent terms tended to turn towards heavy media usage as an escape from too frequent confrontation with their failure.

Sugarman (1966, 1967, 1970) noted that achievement at school can operate as a causal variable even if social class were held constant. He also observed that values were affected less by social background than by social destination, i.e. probable future status. The role of teenager was seen as an inversion of the official pupil role with the main function of commitment to the teenage role seemingly lying in the expression of alienation from the school. These findings were subsequently supported and extended by Polk and Pink (1971) and Brown and O'Leary (1971).

Murdock and Phelps (1972, 1973) in a major study of popular music and the secondary school found that the majority of pupils who had a low commitment to school tended to be highly involved with pop media culture, although the meanings of pop were different for different groups. They saw the most important factors influencing the relation to pop as being social class, sex and evaluation of the school culture. If these things are known, it was claimed, the media use of most secondary school pupils can be predicted with some accuracy.

Morley (1980) has taken this perspective a stage further by postu-

lating the role of the educational system as the starting point of the analysis of the situation of the media audience since it is, "A key determinant of the levels and kinds of cultural codes acquired by the audience". According to this view the educational system "structures" the audiences of the different media, there being a "close relationship between degrees of education and choices of media material" (a perspective strongly supported by the Swedish data cited in the first section). Roe (1983) has shown the similarity of this conceptualization of the media audience with the work of Bourdieu (1974, 1980) and of Bourdieu and Passeron (1978, 1979) which sees schooling, through its function of social and cultural reproduction, as creating predispositions towards cultural taste. In this process a key role is assigned to the acquisition of "academic capital",

> " 'Academic capital' is the guaranteed product of ... cultural transmission by the family and cultural transmission by the school (the efficiency of which depends upon the amount of cultural capital directly inherited from the family). Through its value-inculcating and value imposing operations the school also helps (to a varying extent according to the original disposition i.e. class of origin) to form a general transposable disposition towards legitimate culture." (Bourdieu 1980, p 230)

The degree of possession of academic capital may therefore be regarded as an important intervening variable between the individual's social background and acceptance or denial of prevailing definitions of "legitimate" culture. Specifically,

> "We may expect to find an empirical link between indicators of differential possession of academic capital and preferences for legitimate or oppositional cultural forms, e.g. as between classical or punk music." (Roe 1983, p 41)

Contemporary subcultural theory has also begun to examine the role of schooling as a primary factor in the formation of subcultures. The interaction of social class, schooling and the anticipated transition to work in particular has been stressed and empirical studies of specific youth subcultural groupings have repeatedly substantiated this view (Cohen 1972, Taylor and Wall 1976, Brake 1977, Willis 1977, 1978, Frith 1978, 1983, Hebdige 1979, Clarke 1981).

Differential school achievement has also been shown to markedly affect attachment to peers. In view of the weight here attached to peer

orientation as an important intervening variable in the individuals' relation to music these findings are of considerable relevance. Hargreaves (1967) showed that academic differentiation by the school leads to a polarization of pupils involving the possible formation of pro- and anti-school attitudes which may themselves, in turn, affect media use. Friendship choices were also seen to be rather closely tied to academic status. This perspective received further support from Lacey (1970) who showed that academic failures are predisposed to react negatively to the system which has ascribed to them an inferior status vis à vis the successful, who are in turn predisposed to accept the schools' culture. In the extreme this polarization may result in specifically anti-school groups and subcultures developing amongst the failures.

The end of term school marks of the Media Panel respondents were collected for the ages of 12, 13 and 15. In addition their attitude to school was measured at the age of 15 by a Swedish adaptation of the scale developed by Murdock and Phelps (1973). These variables were subsequently incorporated into a longitudinal structural equation analysis utilizing the LISREL technique. The model consisted of 18 latent and 32 manifest variables over four years of the respondents' lives (11-15). In addition to the school variables it included home background, gender, parent/peer orientation and music listening and preference variables, as well as data on TV use. In addition the future educational plans and occupational expectations of the respondents as perceived by them at the age of 15 were included as outcome factors (for full details of the analysis see Roe (1983, chapter 8). In discussing results from a LISREL analysis it should be borne in mind that any relationships between two factors that are described are unique, all other factors in the model having been simultaneously controlled.

The results of the analysis supported the hypothesis that school achievement and attitude to school may both operate as independent causal variables in respect of adolescent music uses and preferences. Effects tended to be both direct and indirect (through the mediation of peer group orientation). Moreover, they occurred over time in a single panel of adolescents, thereby supporting Murdock and Phelps' (ibid) assertion that knowledge of school based factors enables us to predict later music preferences with some accuracy.

The causal mechanisms revealed by the model, however, were found to operate quite differently for boys and girls, especially in respect of the relationship between home background and peer orientation. This aspect has already been taken up in section II. The effects of school achievement and attitude to school were nevertheless in the same direction for both sexes even if the strengths of the relationships varied somewhat. Firstly, a strong direct relationship was found between higher school achievement at the age of 12 and a greater expressed liking for classical music three years later (remembering once again that home background has been controlled for). For the girls this relationship was particularly strong (.45) and for the boys moderate (.31). As an extra check to remove any doubts that the results might be spurious as a result of home background effects, those adolescents who came from the lowest status home background were analyzed separately in relation to later expressed liking for classical music. The results showed that the higher their school achievement the more likely they were to express a liking for classical music. Thus even pupils from the lowest home background tend to move towards a liking for classical music (a genre normally negatively related to low educational level) <u>if they are high school achievers.</u>

Relationships between school achievement and the other music type factors first came into operation a year later when the respondents were aged 13. Higher school achievement at this age was negatively associated with a liking for punk and rock two years later (for the boys -.16 for the girls -.13) indicating that low achievement provokes a preference for this type of music. Mainstream pop, on the other hand, was positively associated with higher earlier school achivement (.20 for both sexes) indicating that this taste develops amongst higher achievers.

In addition to these direct relationships there was found to be an indirect causal path from school achievement to music preferences. At the age of 13 lower school achievement was associated moderately strongly with a greater orientation to peers. Orientation to peers was itself related, as we have seen, to more frequent listening to "pop", which in turn was related to a greater liking for punk and rock two years later. Here we see the causal chain identified in previous research, namely, low school achievement leading to greater peer attachment leading to greater involvement in socially disapproved of music.

At the age of 15 the commitment to school variable was introduced and analyzed cross sectionally with the peer orientation and music preference factors. For both sexes it became one of the most powerful explanatory factors in the whole model, exerting an effect independent of that exerted by school achievement. Once again both direct and indirect effects were in evidence. For both sexes a negative commitment to school was directly related to a greater liking for punk and rock (representing the socially disapproved music factor). Conversely a more positive commitment to school was related to a greater liking for mainstream pop amongst the boys and to a stronger tendency to like classical music for both sexes. Indirectly a negative commitment to school led to a greater orientation to peers and thence from peer orientation to a greater liking for punk and rock, the same mechanism as identified for school achievement.

Subsequent analysis has also shown that the school factors correlate with a number of the motivations for listening to music. School achievement at the age of 15 correlated significantly with four of the motivational items. These were the items which made up the silence-filling/passing-the-time factor. Higher school achievement was negatively related to all four of these motivations (ranging from $r = -.21$ to $.14$) indicating that it is the less successful who employ music to this end. Commitment to school correlated significantly with seven of the motivational items. All seven were associated with a negative commitment to school indicating that it is these adolescents who are most often motivated to use music for these purposes. In this light it is perhaps not surprising that the highest correlation was that between negative school commitment and the use of music to prevent boredom while "doing other things, such as homework" ($r = .24$). The remaining correlations were spread evenly over the three motivational factors.

IV

The results reported above firmly support a number of conclusions. Firstly, and most importantly, the significance of school achievement as a causal variable was established for both sexes. The relationships reported unequivocably support the contention that music preferences are dependent upon earlier level of school achievement.

The results also clearly indicated the mediating role of the adoles-

cent peer group in terms of music preferences and motivations over and above the direct effects observed from achievement. In terms of Bourdieu's analysis the establishment of these two causal paths, the direct and the indirect, provide substantial evidence for the empirical link between indicators of differential possession of academic capital and preferences for legitimate or oppositional cultural forms. The more successful, even when they come from the lowest social background (measured in terms of occupation and education), show a greater liking for classical and mainstream forms. The failures move instead towards socially disapproved of and oppositional forms - and at the same time orient themselves more fully to negative to school peer groups. Here we see that through its certification and allocation activities the schooling system does indeed structure the audience of at least one communications medium.

Further evidence of the importance of the school in this respect was provided by the efficacy of the school commitment variable. At the age of 15 it was the most powerful single explanatory factor in the whole model. The relationships between school commitment and the peer orientation and music preference factors clearly support the view that high involvement in certain teenage groups and musical styles helps to provide a symbolic expression of disapprobation with the school. Put plainly low achievement tends to lead to greater peer orientation, negative attitudes to school and a preference for oppositional forms of music.

The importance of school achievement, combined with the relative dearth of social background influences on adolescent music listening and preferences, support the notion that an element of anticipatory socialization is operative here. It may very well be that music preferences are not so much a factor of where one comes from in the social structure as of where one is bound. As we saw 11 year old girls who were highly involved with "pop" anticipated getting lower status jobs after school, even when home background was controlled. Similarly at the age of 15 boys who prefer socially disapproved of music also anticipated getting lower status jobs after school. There would appear to be a clear and independent link between oppositional music tastes and perceived future status for some adolescents. Obviously social background and social destination are themselves strongly related but, as Bourdieu and Passeron (ibid) have shown, the process of reproduction is never perfect. Acade-

mic capital may be squandered by those from privileged backgrounds and accumulated by the academically pecunious from less privileged backgrounds. Perceived mobility (upwards, downwards as well as stationary) may be intimately connnected with music tastes.

Finally the results showed the dangers of undifferentiated analysis. In particular widespread and important differences were found according to gender. The causal mechanisms with respect to adolescent media uses differ substantially between the sexes so that undifferentiated analysis may actually produce very misleading results. The danger is particularly acute with subcultural theory and research which overwhelmingly deals with, and explains, the behaviour of boys and either ignores girls completely or treats them as appendices to male subcultures. The need for a maximal differentiation of the research population not only in terms of gender, but also in terms of social class, school achievement and geographical location, cannot be underestimated.

REFERENCES

Axelsen, D (1984 forthcoming) Svenska tonåringar och fonogram. Akademisk avhandling. Göteborgs universitet.

Bourdieu, P (1974) Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction in Brown, R (ed) Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change. London: Tavistock.

Bourdieu, P (1980) The Aristocracy of Culture. Media, Culture and Society, 2 (3) July.

Bourdieu, P and Passeron, J-C (1978) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P and Passeron, J-C (1979) The Inheritors: French Students and Their Relation to Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bowerman, C and Kinch, J (1959) Changes in Family and Peer Orientation of Children Between the Fourth and Tenth Grades. Social Forces 37, pp 206-211.

Bradley, D (1981) Music and Social Science: A Survey. Media, Culture and Society 3, pp 205-218.

Brake, M (1977) Hippies and Skinheads - Sociological Aspects of Subcultures. Ph. D. Thesis. London School of Economics.

Brake, M (1980) The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Brown, R L and O'Leary, M (1971) Pop Music in an English Secondary School in Kline, F G and Clarke, P (eds) Mass Communications and Youth: Some Current Perspectives. London: Sage.

Clarke, J (1981) The Skinheads and the Study of Youth Culture. Birmingham University Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Stencil No Sp [illegible].

Clarke, J, Hall, S, Jeffersson, T and Roberts, B (1980) Subcultures, Cultures and Class in Hall, S and Jeffersson, T (eds) Resistence Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post War Britain. London: Hutchinson.

Cohen, A (1972) Social Control and Subcultural Change. Youth and Society 3, pp 259-276.

Cohen, S (1980) Folk Devils and Moral Panics. 2nd edition. Introduction. Oxford: Robertson.

Coleman, J S (1960) The Adolescent Subculture and Academic Achievement. American Journal of Sociology 65, January, pp 337-347.

Coleman, J S (1961) The Adolescent Society. Glencoe: Free Press.

Coleman, J S (1966) Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington D.C.: U.S.O.E.GPO.

Denisov, R S (1975) Solid Gold: The Popular Record Industry. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.

Flodin, B, Hedinsson , E and Roe , K (1982) Primary School Panel: A Descriptive Report.Media Panel Report No 17. Lund: University of Lund, Dept of Sociology (mimeo).

Fonogramutredningen (1979) Fonogram i Kulturpolitiken. Stockholm: Kulturrådet.

Frith, S (1978) The Sociology of Rock. London: Constable.

Frith, S (1983) Sound Effects: Youth Leisure and the Politics of Rock'n'roll. London: Constable.

Hargreaves, D H (1967) Social Relations in a Secondary School. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hebdige, D (1979) Subculture: The Meaning of Style. London: Methuen.

Hedinsson, E (1981) TV, Family and Society. The Social Origins and Effects of Adolescents' TV Use. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Hirsch, P (1981) Changes in the Music Industry, Audiences and Popular Preferences and the Possibilities of Using Popular Music as a Social Indicator. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center.

Johnsson-Smaragdi, U (1983) TV Use and Social Interaction in Adolescence: A Longitudinal Study. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Jöreskog, K G (1977) Structural Equation Models. The Social Sciences: Specification, Estimation and Testing,in Krishnaiih, P R (ed) Applications of Statistics. Amsterdam: North Holland Publications.

Jöreskog, K G (1981) Basic Issues in the Application of LISREL. DATA, 1 No 1, June, pp 1-9.

Karlsson, H (1982) Forskning om dagens musiksamhälle. Stockholm: Kulturrådet.

Kjellmor, S (1981) Radions Publik: Lyssnandet Under Tre Ar. Stockholm: Sveriges Radio/PUB.

Lacey, C (1970) Hightown Grammar. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Lull, J (1984) The Social Uses of Popular Music. Paper presented to the ICA Annual Convention. San Francisco 24-28 May 1984.

Malm, K (1982) Phonograms and Cultural Policy in Sweden, in Blaukopf, K (ed) The Phonogram in Cultural Communication. Wien/New York:Springer.

Morley, D (1980) Reconceptualizing the Media Audience: Towards an Ethnography of Audiences. Birmingham University, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Stencil No Sp 9.

Murdock, G and McCron, R (1976a) Consciousness of Class and Consciousness of Generation, in Hall, S and Jeffersson, T (eds) Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Postwar Britain. London: Hutchinson.

Murdock, G and McCron, R (1976b) Youth and Class, in Mungham, G and Pearson, G (eds) Working Class Youth Cultures.

Murdock, G and Phelps, G (1972) Youth Culture and the School Revisited. British Journal of Sociology, 23, pp 478-482.

Murdock, G and Phelps, G (1973) Mass Media and the Secondary School. London: MacMillan.

Nylöf, G (1970) Den ojämlika kontakten med musik. Utfallet, 3. Stockholm: Rikskonserter.

Nylöf, G (1975) Former för kontakt med musik. Stockholm: Rikskonserter (mimeo).

Nylöf, G (1977) Musikpolitik för schlager - är det nödvändigt? Stockholm: Rikskonserter (mimeo).

Polk, K and Pink, W (1971) Youth Culture and the School: A Replication. British Journal of Sociology, 22, pp 160-171.

Roe, K (1983) Mass Media and Adolescent Schooling: Conflict or Coexistence? Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Rosengren, K E, Roe, K and Sonesson, I (1983) Finality and Causality in Adolescents' Mass Media Use. Paper presented to the ICA Convention, Dallas, May 1983. Media Panel Report No 24. Lund: University of Lund, Dept of Sociology (mimeo).

Rosengren, K E and Windahl, S (1978) The Media Panel: A Presentation of a Program. Media Panel Report No 4. Lund: University of Lund, Dept of Sociology (mimeo).

Sugarman, B (1966) Social Class and Values as Related to Achievement and Conduct in School. Sociological Review, 14, pp 287-301.

Sugarman, B (1967) Involvement in Youth Culture, Academic Achievement and Conformity in School. British Journal of Sociology, 18, pp 151-164.

Sugarman, B (1970) Social Class, Values and Behavior in School, in Craft, M (ed) Family, Class and Education: A Reader. London: Longman.

Sörbom, D and Jöreskog, K G (1981) The Use of LISREL in Sociological Model Building, in Jackson, D J and Borgatta, E F (eds) Factor Analysis and Measurement. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Tagg, P D (1981a) On the Specificity of Musical Communication. University of Gothenburg Musicology Department. Stencil No 8115.

Tagg, P D (1981b) Fernando The Flute: Analysis of Affect in an ABBA Number which sold more than 10,000,000 Pressings and was heard by over 100,000,000 People. University of Gothenburg Musicology Department (mimeo).

Taylor, I and Wall, D (1976) Beyond the Skinheads: Comments on the Emergence and Significance of the Glamrock Cult, in Mungham, G and Pearson, G (eds) Working Class Youth Cultures. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Wallis, R and Malm, K (1984) Big Sounds from Small Peoples. London: Constable.

Willis, P (1977) Learning to Labour. London: Sage.

Willis, P (1978) Profane Culture. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Willis, P (1980) Symbolism and Practice: A Theory for the Social Meaning of Pop Music. Birmingham University, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Stencil Nc Sp 13.